

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LUSAKA 00590 091645Z

47

ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-11 ISO-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00

USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ARA-06 ACDA-05

EA-07 MC-02 /090 W

----- 058485

O P 091548Z MAR 76

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2953

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MASERU PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MBABANE PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

USMISSION USUN NY PRIORITY

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L LUSAKA 0590

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINS, MILI, RH, ZA

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: MARCH 10 MARKS POINT OF NO RETURN FOR SMITH

1. SUMMARY. PRESIDENTIAL FOREIGN AFFAIRS ADVISER MARK CHONA TOLD ME MARCH 6 THAT ANC PLANS FOR GUERRILLA WAR AGAINST RHODESIAN REGIME ARE WELL ADVANCED AND THAT WEDNESDAY, MARCH 10 MAY MARK POINT OF NO RETURN FOR SMITH. CHONA FELT SOVIET-SUPPLIED SAM MISSILES WOULD BE DECISIVE AGAINST RHODESIAN AIR FORCE BUT THAT OPTION OF CALLING UPON SOVIETS OR CUBANS FOR AIR STRIKES AGAINST RHODESIAN FORCES WOULD BE HELD IN RESERVE. END SUMMARY.

2. DURING DISCUSSION WITH MARK CHONA MARCH 6 ON OTHER SUBJECTS,  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LUSAKA 00590 091645Z

HE SAID ZAMBIA WAS VERY MUCH CONCERNED, AS ARE NEIGHBORING TAN-

ZANIA AND MOZAMBIQUE, THAT AS ARMED CRUNCH COMES IN RHODESIA  
USG IN ABSENCE OF EXPLICIT DENIAL WILL BE SEEN TO BE HELPING  
SMITH REGIME PSYCHOLOGICALLY BY ITS PUBLIC CONDEMNATIONS OF  
AGGRESSION AS A MEANS OF SETTLING RHODESIAN DISPUTE. I ARGUED  
THAT USG STAND ON ILLEGALITY AND NON-RECOGNITION OF SMITH'S  
MINORITY REGIME IS CLEAR AND WELL KNOWN. CHONA COUNTERED BY  
CRITICIZING USG FOR NOT GIVING APPEARANCE OF BEING ON SIDE OF  
FREEDOM FIGHTERS NOW THAT PEACEFUL OPTION HAS BEEN TRIED  
WITHOUT SUCCESS.

3. CHONA SAID GUERRILLA WAR PREPARATIONS OF ZIMBABWE ANC WERE WELL  
ADVANCED AND THAT WEDNESDAY, MARCH 10 WOULD BE POINT OF NO  
RETURN FOR SMITH SO FAR AS NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT CONCERNED.  
AFTER THAT DATE GUERRILLA WAR WOULD TAKE SERIOUS TURN AND  
MAJORITY RULE WOULD BE PRESSED ON SMITH BY FORCE OF ARMS.  
CHONA EXPRESSED COMPLETE ZAMBIAN CONFIDENCE IN ANC MILITARY  
CAPABILITY, SAYING IT WELL FOR RHODESIAN DEFENSE MINISTER VAN  
DER BYL TO BELIEVE, AS HE RECENTLY ANNOUNCED, THERE ARE ONLY  
ONE THOUSAND ANC GUERRILLAS IN RHODESIA WHEN IN FACT THERE ARE  
MANY MORE. ASKED SIGNIFICANCE OF MARCH 10 DATE, CHONA REPLIED  
THAT BY THEN BULK OF ANC FIGHTING FORCE WOULD HAVE MOVED INTO  
RHODESIA AND IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO TURN THEM BACK FROM  
THEIR MISSION. COMMENT: INASMUCH AS NKOMO SAW KAUNDA IN  
LUSAKA LAST WEEKEND WE ASSUME HE HAD SOMETHING IMPORTANT TO SAY  
REGARDING PROGRESS OF NEGOTIATIONS AND HE MAY HAVE WANTED A FEW  
MORE DAYS TO ATTEMPT TO GAIN SMITH'S ACCEPTANCE OF A NEW  
AND REVISED FORMULA THAT WOULD ASSURE MAJORITY RULE.

4. CHONA INDICATED THAT ONE OF MANY TACTICAL QUESTIONS RAISED  
AT FEBRUARY 6/7 MEETING OF FOUR AFRICAN PRESIDENTS IN QUELIMANE  
WAS WHO WOULD PARTICIPATE IN NEGOTIATING SURRENDER OF WHITE  
MINORITY REGIME FOLLOWING SUCCESSFUL ARMED LIBERATION STRUGGLE.  
IT WAS DECIDED THIS WOULD BE TASK OF ANC ARMY HIGH COMMAND,  
NOT THE MUZOREWAS, SITHOLES, OR NKOMOS WHO WOULD HAVE BECOME  
IRRELEVANT WITH APPARENT FAILURE OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. IF  
ELECTIONS FOLLOWED SETTLEMENT BY FORCE, THESE OLD GUARD  
POLITICAL LEADERS COULD HAVE ANOTHER CHANCE BY STANDING AT  
HUSTINGS. COMMENT: THIS IS INTERESTING IF OBLIQUE COMMENT ON  
CONCEPT OF THE GUERRILLAS AS A POLITICAL "THIRD FORCE" PUT FOR-  
WARD BY PRES NYERERE IN HIS INTERVIEW WITH DAVID MARTIN PUBLISHED  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 LUSAKA 00590 091645Z

IN LAST SUNDAY'S OBSERVER.

5. WE ASKED CHONA ABOUT FOREIGN SUPPORT FOR ANC AND POSSIBLE  
INTERVENTION IN RHODESIA. CHONA DOUBTED THAT STRAINS WOULD  
DEVELOP BETWEEN SOVIETS AND CHINESE FOR REASONS OF HAVING  
SUPPORTED DIFFERENT FACTIONS WITHIN ANC. CLAIMED IT HAD BEEN  
SHOWN AT QUELIMANE THAT ANC ARMY NOW WELL INTEGRATED AND THAT  
EARLIER DIVISIONS RELATED TO RIVAL LEADERSHIP AND FOREIGN

BACKING HAD BEEN MINIMIZED. THERE ARE REAL DIFFERENCES IN FOREIGN SUPPORT CAPABILITIES, WITH SOVIETS STRONG ON SOPHISTICATED WEAPONS AND CHINESE NOT, BUT CHONA DID NOT BELIEVE THIS WOULD PRESENT PROBLEMS. ANC WOULD COUNT MAINLY ON MASSIVE INPUTS OF WELL TRAINED MANPOWER, ARMED MAINLY WITH SMALL ARMS. (IT WAS INFERRED THESE WOULD BE SUPPLIED BY CHINESE.) CHONA THOUGHT SOVIET-SUPPLIED SAM MISSILES WOULD BE DECISIVE IN "NEUTRALIZING" FURTHER RHODESIAN AIR STRIKES AGAINST GUERRILLAS. WHEN PRESSED ON WHETHER ANC WOULD CALL ON SOVIETS AND CUBANS FOR RETALIATORY AIR STRIKES, CHONA REFLECTED A BIT, THEN SAID HE DOUBTED THERE WOULD BE NEED FOR THEM UNLESS RHODESIA BOMBED MOZAMBIQUE. IN THAT CASE, CHONA SAID, ZAMBIA WOULD SUPPORT MOZAMBIQUE AS PRES KAUNDA HAD STATED PUBLICLY ON MARCH 3. CHONA WOULD NOT BE MORE SPECIFIC ABOUT HOW ZAMBIA WOULD SUPPORT MOZAMBIQUE.

6. SUSEQUENT TO ABOVE CONVERSATION, FRENCH AMBASSADOR (FRANCAIS) TOLD US HE HAD LEARNED DIRECTLY FROM PERM SECY OF TANZANIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY THAT AN AGREED TACTIC OF ANC ARMY AND OF NEIGHBORING STATES SUPPORTING LIBERATION STRUGGLE IS TO CREATE IMPRESSION AS MEANS OF PRESSURING SMITH THAT THERE WOULD BE REPETITION OF ANGOLAN SITUATION IN RHODESIA INCLUDING INTRODUCTION OF SOPHISTICATED SOVIET EQUIPMENT AND CUBAN TROOPS. IN REALITY, TANZANIAN SOURCE HAD SAID, CUBAN OPTION WOULD BE HELD IN RESERVE FOR USE ONLY AS A LAST RESORT. CONFIRMING WHAT CHONA TOLD US, TANZANIAN SOURCE HAD SAID EMPHASIS WOULD BE ON MASSIVE INPUT UNDER COVER OF RAINY SEASON OF ANC GUERRILLAS TO EXERT MAXIMUM PRESSURE ON WHITE SETTLERS.

7. COMMENT: WE DO NOT BELIEVE MARCH 10 DATE SHOULD BE TAKEN TOO LITERALLY AS DAY ON WHICH ALL-OUT GUERRILLA

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 LUSAKA 00590 091645Z

WAR AGAINST SMITH REGIME WILL BE LAUNCHED. AN EARLIER DEADLINE OF MARCH 5 WAS OVERTAKEN. HOWEVER, WERE NKOMO TO ANNOUNCE IN NEAR FUTURE THAT NEGOTIATIONS WITH SMITH HAVE FAILED AND ONLY WAR REMAINED AS MEANS FOR ACHIEVING MAJORITY RULE, LAST CHANCE FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT MAY THEN HAVE WELL BEEN LOST. WE DOUBT THAT EITHER NKOMO OR SMITH ARE PREPARED TO ADMIT FAILURE NOW THAT SOME HOPE OF SETTLEMENT RAISED. FOR NKOMO IT WOULD BE TANTAMOUNT TO POLITICAL SUICIDE SINCE HE ALONG WITH SITHOLE AND MUZOREWA PROBABLY WOULD BECOME IRRELEVANT ONCE INITIATIVE PASSED INTO HANDS OF ANC MILITARY COMMANDERS, WHOEVER THEY MAY BE. WE SUSPECT BOTH NKOMO AND SMITH WILL FIND WAY TO KEEP TALKS GOING FOR THIS REASON. MEANWHILE, HOWEVER, GUERRILLA STRENGTH AND ACTION INSIDE RHODESIA AND ALONG ITS BORDER WILL CONTINUE TO GROW AND EXERT PRESSURE ON SMITH IN ADDITION TO MOZAMBIQUE

BORDER CLOSURE.  
WILKOWSKI

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, POLITICAL SITUATION, UNCONVENTIONAL WARFARE  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 09 MAR 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** coburnhl  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976LUSAKA00590  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D760089-0144  
**From:** LUSAKA  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19760380/aaaacsww.tel  
**Line Count:** 171  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION AF  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** coburnhl  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 10 MAY 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <10 MAY 2004 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <30 AUG 2004 by coburnhl>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** RHODESIA: MARCH 10 MARKS POINT OF NO RETURN FOR SMITH  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PINS, MILI, RH, ZA, ANC, (CHONA, MARK), (SMITH, IAN)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006